

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

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ARA-06 AF-06 NEA-10 /099 W
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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 657

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3183

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, UR, XF

SUBJECT: EUROPE AT THE CPSU CONGRESS: EPILOGUE

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1. SUMMARY. PRAVDA'S FRONT-PAGE TREATMENT OF MARCH 1 LEADERSHIP MEETING WITH BERLINGUER COULD SERVE AS DIPTYCH TO FEB 28 MEETING WITH CUNHAL, EXCEPT THAT BERLINGUER IS SMILING. REPORT OF MEETING IS HEAVY ON DETENTE AND LIGHT ON INTRA-COMMUNIST ISSUES, AND IT OMITTS PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM ALTOGETHER. INSIDE PAGES CROWDED WITH KOSYGIN AND LA AND ME DELEGATION MAKE SPACE FOR ONLY TWO "EUROPEANS," GUS HALL AND BRITISH CP GENERAL SECRETARY MACLENNAN, WHO REPLICATE CUNHAL-BERLINGUER CONTRAST. THUS LINES ARE DRAWN, BUT THERE ARE AS YET NO SIGNALS AS TO HOW SOVIETS INTEND TO WEAVE THEM BACK TOGETHER AGAIN. END SUMMARY.

2. PRAVDA MARCH 2 FRONT PAGES REPORT OF MEETING "IN SECOND HALF" OF MARCH 1 OF BERLINGUER AND SAME SOVIET LEADERSHIP TEAM--BREZHNEV, SUSLOV AND PONOMAREV--WHICH MET CUNHAL FEB 28. REPORT IS PRINTED AROUND A PICTURE WHICH COULD SERVE WITH CUNHAL REPORT ICON AS A DIPTYCH; THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT BERLINGUER (ONLY) IS SMILING AND THAT THE PLAN BACKDROP FOR A CUNHAL MEETING HAS BEEN REPLACED BY A ROOM WITH FLOWERS AND DRAPES WHICH MAKE IT APPEAR AS IF THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN A MORTUARY. BREZHNEV'S ASSISTANT A.I. BLATOV, WHO ALSO ATTENDED, IS NOT IN THE PICTURE. REPORT ITSELF IS HEAVY ON DETENTE--THERE AS A "COMMON CONVICTION THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE CREATES MORE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR CONFIRMATION OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLES TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE" AND LIGHT ON INTRA-COMMUNIST ISSUES--BOTH SIDES WANT "TO EXPAND THE INTERNATIONALIST COOPERATION OF BOTH PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP AND RESPECT FOR THE AUTONOMY OF EACH." PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM WAS NOT MENTIONED.

3. CENTRAL PRESS MARCH 2 IS DELIVERED OVER TO KOSYGIN AND HOST OF LATIN AMERICAN AND MIDDLE EAST GUESTS, SPEAKING BOTH AT CONGRESS AND BEFORE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, SO THAT THE ONLY "EUROPEANS" TO APPEAR ARE GUS HALL AND BRITISH CP GENERAL SECRETARY MACLENNAN, WHO PROVIDE INTERESTING TRANS-ATLANTIC CONTRAST. MACLENNAN'S REMARKS CONFIDENTIAL

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WERE FULL OF FLINTY AUTONOMISM: "THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF EACH COMMUNIST PARTY AND MUTUAL SOLIDARITY OF ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES IN OUR COMMON STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM (CONSTITUTE) THE ESSENTIAL BASIS FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM, VITALLY IMPORTANT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONALISM. DIVERGENCES ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS CAN APPEAR AND EXIST IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AND OUR VIEWS

ON THESE QUESTIONS ARE WELL KNOWN." HALL, ON THE OTHER HAND, INDULGED HIMSELF IN THE MOST VICIOUS ATTACKS ON BOTHE THE COMMUNIST AUTONOMISTS AND THE MAOISTS YET HEARD FROM A FOREIGN SPEAKER AT THE CONGRESS: "WE DO NOT INTEND TO USE SLANDEROUS ATTACKS AGAINST THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM, TO REHASH ANTI-SOVIET FANTASIES IN ORDER TO GET SO-CALLED RECOGNITION, TO FIND A FALSE RESPECTABILITY OR TO SHOW OUR INDEPENDENCE (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)...MAOSIM IS A CLASSICAL EXAMPLE OF WHERE OPPORTUNISM LEADS IF IT IS NOT RESISTED. AT THE BOTTOM OF THE TURBID MUD OF OPPORTUNISM IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION (APPLAUSE). AND MAOISM HAS REACHED THAT BOTTOM (APPLAUSE)." HALL'S REMARKS MAY GAIN SOMETHING IN THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH, BUT PROBABLY NOT MUCH.

4. COMMENT. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF THE TINY NORTH ATLANTIC PARTIES ONLY REPLICATES AT THE LEVEL OF FOLKLORE THE SERIOUS CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO MAJOR SOUTHERN EUROPEAN PARTIES WHICH THE SOVIETS CHOSE TO DISPLAY BY GIVING THEM EQUAL TIME WITH THE TOP LEADERSHIP AND EQUAL TREATMENT ON PRAVDA'S FRONT PAGE. IT MEANS ONLY THAT THE LINES ARE DRAWN; IT DOES NOT SIGNAL HOW THE SOVIETS MAY INTEND TO WEAVE THEM BACK TOGETHER AGAIN.

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